1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

All the material elaboration went into the making of paraphernalia. With amazing ingenuity the Papago used ocotillo wands, cactus ribs, raw cotton, and deerhide to construct handsome effigies for their dancers to carry. Imitation birds, clouds, mountains, rainbows, and even stuffed deer mounted on a platform were properties for the dancers of the great prayer-stick festival.

DANCING

There were several styles of dancing, which will be mentioned in detail in connection with each ceremony. At the rain dance, most widespread and popular of all, the dancers clasped hands and revolved in a circle, counterclockwise. At the girl's puberty dance there were two rows of dancers who stepped backward and forward facing each other. At the prayer-stick festival the dancing was in Pueblo style, the men stamping with alternate feet, the women bouncing slightly, with knees bent and elbows held close to the body.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Papago choice of musical instruments was very small. To accompany a song they had a basket drum, which was nothing more than a common house utensil turned upside down—"because we were poor and did not carry much with us." They had gourd rattles, originally any dried gourd, its stem used as handle and its own seeds within it making the crepitation. They had scraping sticks—notched sticks, slightly curved, over which another stick was rubbed with a rattling noise. But they elaborated a surprising number of techniques with these rudimentary instruments.

The basket drum could be either struck or rubbed. It could be struck by the hand to obtain a dull sound or by a stick to get a sharp one. A stick could be rubbed over the surface to give a slight rattling sound, but for certain modern songs a knife is specified for this purpose. Conversely, for other songs the direction was: "a knife must not be used."

These two methods of using the basket drum, striking and rub-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

images of the beautiful things that make life good for the Desert People, like clouds and corn and squash and deer. The men sang about those things and my father made songs. When I was about eight years old, my father once made an image of a mountain out of cactus ribs covered with white cloth. He had dreamed about that mountain and this is the song he made:

There is a white shell mountain in the ocean
Rising half out of the water.
Green scum floats on the water
And the mountain turns around.

The song is very short because we understand so much. We can understand how tall and white the mountain was, and that white shell is something precious, such as the handsome men of old used to have for their necklaces, and it would shine all across the earth as they walked. We understand that as that mountain turns, it draws the clouds and the birds until they all float around it. All those things my father told me when he used to sing that song in our house. I did not understand, though, when I was a little girl and went to the harvest festival. I was afraid of the singers with their masks. There were clowns with masks, too, white masks with little holes for eyes. The clowns bless people, and one put his hand out to bless me, but I ducked under it and ran.

Only afterward I used to dream of the white clown. Perhaps it was because some day I was going to marry one. It may be, for I have magic dreams. I am one who understands things.

When we came home that year there was sickness at Mesquite Root. It was a bad sickness that came to everybody in the whole village, sent by an evil medicine man. We all had it: my father, my mother, all my brothers and sisters. The singers gathered in the big house and sang. You understand now that our way to cure everything and to take care of everything, is to sing.

Then the medicine men took branches of a kind of cholla cactus. Oh, very thorny that cactus is, covered with white thorns, and people say they jump out at you and catch you, so hard they stick. Everything in the world sticks to that cactus, so we say the sickness will stick to it, too. The medicine men went with their branches into every house, gathering up the sickness on those thorns. I remember, because I was not so sick as the others, how little boys came after them, making fun of them and waving greasewood branches. But we do not mind those things. We know the children do not understand. They took the sickness away and buried it at the north of the village.

My little brother sang a great deal in the house after those things hap-

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pi Pa 241 789

crops from disease and to insure good health and l[illegible] life. The paraphernalia used consisted of effigies representing clouds, corn, sahuaros, chollas, mesquite beans, deer etc., and were carried in a procession by masked singers. Every man in each village made some such effigy out of twigs and colored cotton, and this he carried to the scene of activity. Painted prayer sticks, adorned with fine turkey or eagle feathers, and the bull-roarer symbolized growing corn, lightning, thunder, clouds and the sound of rain. A group of clowns performed a variety of activities, such as carrying long poles to represent those with which sahuaro fruit is gathered, gourd rattles, portraying giant cactus trees, and wearing turkey feathers on their heads to symbolize the fruit. There were also representations of the sun and moon. They went through the motions of shooting at men disguised as deer, or at imaginary jackrabbits, antelope and other game. A replica of a field was made by each village, and sand brought from the arroyo was placed nearby to portray the mouth of the arroyo close to the field. Clowns in proper costume investigated to see if these "fields" were in proper condition, and imitated people working in fields by cleaning the "ditches" and burning "weeds." Shamans sprinkled cornmeal on the breasts of everyone, thus preventing sickness and bringing them long life, and, according to Davis,[4] such meal was made only from branched or twin ears of corn. Representatives from each village sang their cycle of eight songs, repeating as often as necessary, for singing continued all night. Just before dawn, the singers disrobed and painted themselves in a spotted fashion to depict multicolored ears of corn, principally blue, red and white. Girls carried ears of blue and white corn, and in each village group there were two men who represented yellow corn. Invariably the best specimens of corn, pumpkins and teparies were used in this ceremony. Content of the songs represented a description of the appearance of clouds, the occurrence of thunder, light-

Pi 293

Pi Pa 241 789

Pi Pa

[801]

[4] *Ibid.*

412
301
334
415
342
156
293
492
302

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a. Medicine man's plume; length, 60 ctm. *b.* Wooden tweezers used in pulling off certain cactus fruit; length, 38 ctm. *c.* Tattooing marks on woman. *d, i.* Front (diam. 44 ctm.) and back (diam. 44 ctm.) of cowhide shield used in Apache sham battles. *e.* Wooden spur, attached to one (right) foot; length, 16 ctm. *f.* Wooden implement, found at a tomb; length, 22 ctm. *g.* hair-brush of fibre; length, 15 ctm. *h.* Door to grass hut; at present made from wheat straw; height, 98 ctm. *k, l.* Bags of fibrous matter, caused by woodpeckers' work in the saguaro; serve as canteens and cups; height of the smaller one, 17 ctm. *m.* Bird, made from yucca root and painted blue; carried upright at the Santa Rosa feast; length of bird, 8 ctm.

[Facing p. 110]

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

312 796 [124] tion in the houses, camp near the pool. The writer was fortunate in having the opportunity of visiting Quitovaquita during a fiesta, as the guest of Joseph Menager, who has a ranch near the border, and who speaks fluently both the Spanish and Papago languages.

796 We reached the village at 8 o'clock in the morning, and stopped at the house of the chief, whose Spanish name is Manuel Ortega. We went a half mile into the desert to the grounds where the ceremony was to be held, and met a number of the men who were to participate. Hanging on a small shelter were the ceremonial trappings that later were to be used during the fiesta. They consisted of deerskin masks that fitted over the head, the fronts of which were pierced by two holes for the eyes, and from the lower edges hung long fringes. Sashes of bright-colored fabric, necklaces composed mostly of blue-glass beads interspersed with short lengths of shell beads, bunches of eagle-feathers, robes, anklets girdled with cocoons filled with fine sand, and girdles of deerskin, suspended from

796 293 [532]

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796
[293]

which were several bells and sea-shells strung on deerskin thongs.

In the afternoon of August 4, Manuel Ortega, aided by all the other house-owners, made four small piles of sand in front of his house, and later two men, wearing deer-skin masks with feathers, and girdles with jingling shells and bells, came to the house, headed by a leader and followed by a crowd of men and boys. The leader placed pinches of cornmeal on each pile of sand, and a bunch of medicine-feathers on one of the piles. Four times he put the pinches of meal around, and then one of the men shot a small arrow into one of the sand-piles. A [331] pail of figs was presented to the performers by the house-owner, and in an hour the performance was repeated. This is a kind of blessing, and is said to insure good luck to the household for the ensuing year.

On the night of the fourth everybody [346] went out to the fiesta grounds, where two booths, made of the wood of the saguaro cactus, semicircular in form and about 100 feet apart, had been built. In each of these, at short intervals, two men having

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796
212

feet to the west, accompanied by assistants robed in blankets, cut poncho-style, with bare arms and legs painted white. There were three assistants to each group, and as they advanced they sprinkled libations of cornmeal from small clam-shells that each held in the left hand. The masked men carried wands, about four feet long, decorated with bunches of eagle-plumes fastened to each end and in the middle. Each plume was fastened with sinew to a deerskin thong, and these were tied in bunches. The assistants wore gray blankets and turbans made of red bandanas, and carried shells of cornmeal. The meal which figures in the ceremony is made only from corn that grows in double or twin ears. In the turbans were inserted four eagle-feathers attached to short sticks. Above the feet of each man were fastened deerskin anklets, circled with small rattles of tough cocoons filled with fine sand. As they neared the singers' booths they crossed on each side, then turned and came back to the booth from which they had started, and took off their ceremonial robes. In the singers'

[293]

[824]

796

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

All the dancers carried quivers of arrows, the quivers being made of canvas, painted red or left natural color, or of skins. At least one quiver was made of the entire skin of a kit fox. These quivers were fastened across the small of the back at an angle, open end up and to the dancer's right. Many quivers were fringed. 796 292 411

Two or more men carried imitation powderhorns of cowhorn, in one case carried slung over the left shoulder and resting on the right hip, in the other, tied to the belt on the right side.

The dancers' arms and legs were bare, though a few men had shirt sleeves and levi legs rolled up and showing beneath the tunic. Legs and arms were painted with what seemed to be white clay, decorated with groups of short vertical lines, done both in red paint and by scraping off the clay. 292 796 [302]

On the left wrist the dancers wore ornaments of skin, canvas, or of both. One wore the entire skin of a ringtailed cat wrapped around his wrist, the tail dangling. Other wrist decorations were made by wrapping the end of a long strip of material, two to four inches wide, once about the wrist, letting the end dangle a foot or more. These were often fringed, or had plumes tied to them, and were painted in colors. Many were red with white geometric patterns; one was yellow with diagonal green lines. [301]

Each dancer carried a wooden arrow, fletched with turkey feathers, the point carved out the wooden shaft, or carried a wooden wand or lance, in the left hand. These were red, with white banding. In the right hand most carried a bow made of grotesquely twisted wood. These bows ranged from two to two and one half feet long, and were also painted red with white banding. A few men carried wooden guns, one being made of a twinned saguaro rib, the butt representing the stock, and the ribs the barrels of a double barrelled shotgun. One or two men carried cheap commercial popguns. Several men with guns carried arrows in their left hands, though others carried wands and used them as ramrods. 293 796

Legs were bare from knee down, and the dancers wore anklets of black leather or of black cloth on which were sewed one or more rows of cocoons, fastened by one end. One dancer's anklets were solidly covered with cocoons, as if he had strung them and wrapped the string spirally about his ankle. All dancers wore sandals, of leather soles tied on with thongs. In some cases cocoons were sewn to the ankle binding, on the outside. 292 796

The chorus was made up of both men and boys, and each member carried ceremonial objects in both hands. All but two were bare headed, and wore halves of gourds bound over their faces. These gourds were decorated with horizontal zones of color, consisting of a blue band one and one-half or two inches wide at eye level, a red zone, extending 796 292 531

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

end of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation. 796 533

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it, giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones. 796 533 535

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat, tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides; isosceles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn. 796 535 293

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher-like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length, with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure. [482] [412]

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red designs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several of these were wrapped in sacking. 796 [531]

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher. The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to Old Santa Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers [482] 796 534

VIRTUA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

one which was to march out with the dancers, and one which was to remain inside. Singing began, the same song as that sung during the night, and one chorus, of about fifteen singers, in elaborate costume, emerged from the enclosure and, preceded by the herd of dancers, marched to the dance floor. This chorus sang independently of the chorus inside. 796

Meanwhile, from somewhere came two score or more of men, all in army overcoats, who lined up against the west side of the enclosure outside, some standing, some sitting, as though they were privileged persons occupying reserved seats.

796
292
[821]
[531]

The chorus carried, the first time, the triangular forms of cotton, representing, we were told, clouds, the brown zigzag lines signifying lightning. The costumes of the chorus were, in the main, as follows. Each man or boy, most were in their teens, was stripped to the waist, with bare legs and feet. They wore skirts brilliantly colored, both of cotton and of rayon, reaching to the knees. Many of these skirts had had panels in contrasting colors sewn to them, and one in particular had a vertical red panel on the left side of a blue skirt, with the four playing card symbols appliqued on it in blue. Several had Christmas tree decorations, tinsel, glass balls, etc., sewn to their skirts. Each chorister had, stuck in his belt behind, a pair of bull roarer sticks, nearly all of which were red, with white decoration. They all were anklets of black material with cocoons sewn to them.

From the waist up the choristers were painted red, spotted all over with inch wide circular daubs of white clay. About their necks all wore bright silk rodeo neckerchiefs. One boy wore a mirror strapped across his chest with bright ribbons. Several boys wore strands of Christmas tinsel, like crossed bandoliers, over their shoulders. All wore the gourd masks, with the exception of the two little boys who wore the cocklike masks described above. These boys also wore skirts. [302]

At the head of the chorus, which marched in single file except when several had to help carry floats, the two little boys trotting alongside near the head of the column, was a leader. This leader, a middle-aged man, was clad in a plain white tunic, belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. His legs were painted white, and he wore sandals; his arms were bare and painted white, his hands were black. About his head he wore a white band in which on the left side was stuck a long tail feather of hawk or eagle. The upper half of his face was painted black, and the lower half smeared with white.

This leader carried in the crook of his left arm a deep tray basket of Pima manufacture, about 18" in diameter, painted white and black inside and out in alternate eighths. In the basket was white meal, which held in place four sectors of short, dark turkey feathers, lying against the inside of the basket. 796 293 285

292
293
343

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES 1 TO 6

1 - Member of the chorus

2 - Objects carried by chorus and dancers

3 - Dancer, front view

4 - Dancer, rear view

5 - Costume of chorus leader and of the attendants in the lean-to

6 - Lean-to with attendants and four young people

293

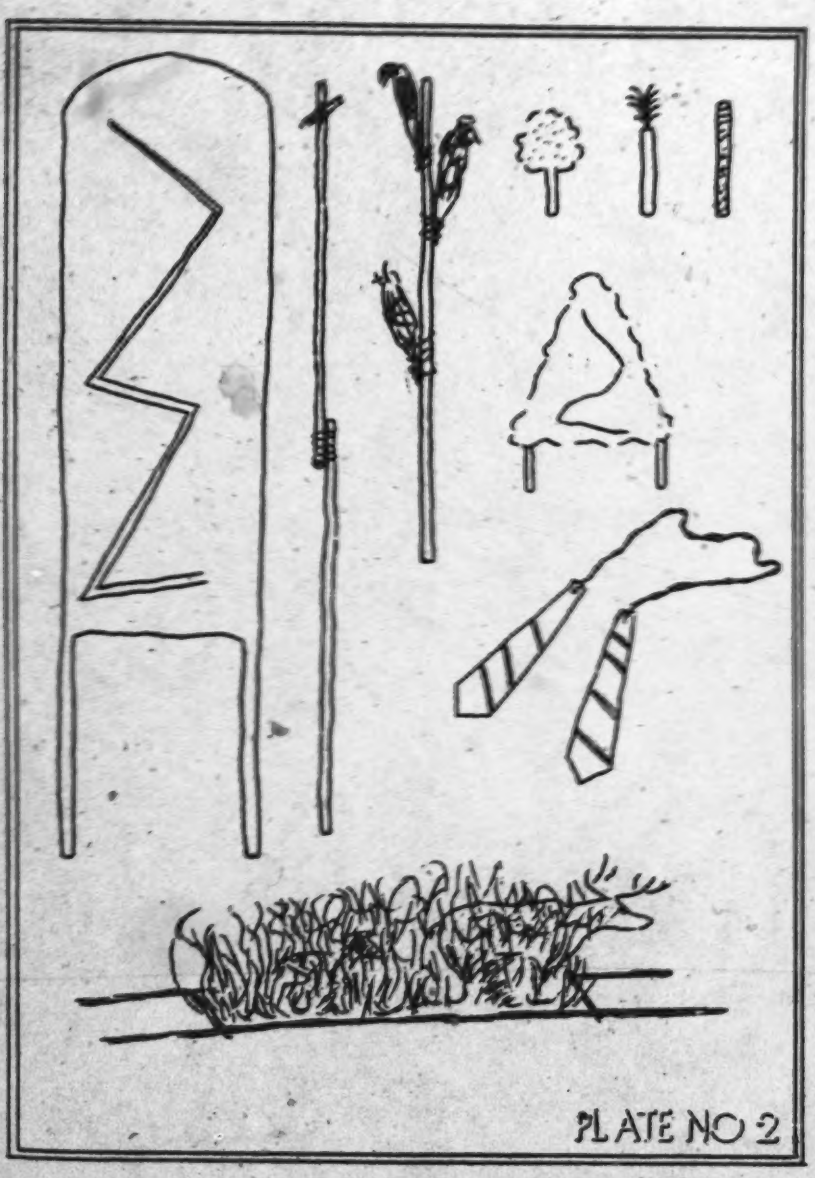


PLATE NO 2

[p. 272(c)]

292
293

PLATE NO. 3

[p. 272 (D)]

292
293

PLATE
NO 4

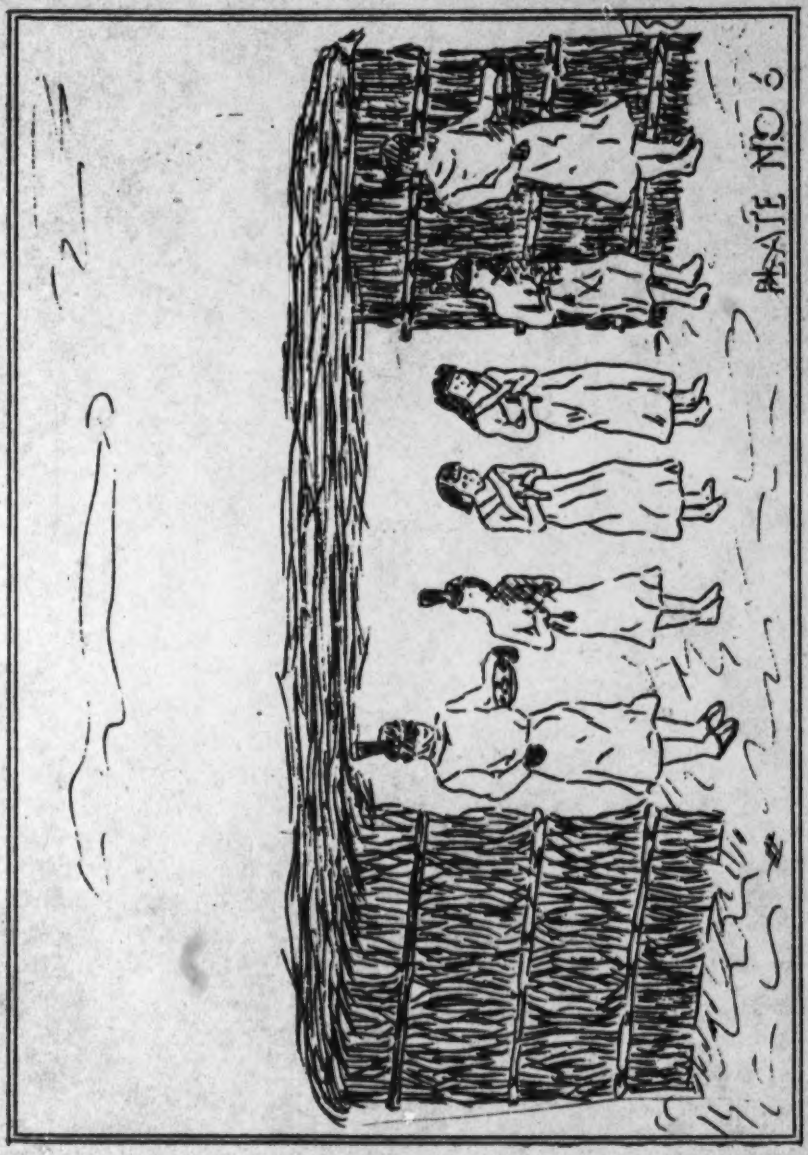
[p. 272 (E)]

292
293

PLATE NO 5

[p. 272(F)]

292
293
343



[p.272(G)]

796 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across
533 a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one
534 drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces
[516] carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the
[781] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, in-
293 cluding several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried
532 by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and war-like gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

2

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 293 532

Later, after the chorus had marched several times with small objects, another float appeared, this one long, with four deer in single file upon it, with short arrowweed tied to it in bunches to simulate brush. These deer were made of dried deer skins and heads stretched over frameworks of sticks.

Another float, some time later, bore a deer and two fawns, in single file, partially concealed by clumps of arrowweed. Beneath the deer on the float was a small hemisphere of black cloth, about 12" high, and on top of this perched a bird cut out of thin wood and painted black. It had a humped back and large hooked beak.

The last float of this kind bore one deer, a shaggy old brute with tremendous grizzled head, the hide stretched crudely over sticks, as was done in the case of the two preceding deer floats.

The dancers went through the same performance with each one of these floats, and the chorus carried bows and arrows with each. Beside the deer floats, there were several others. One, requiring six choristers to carry it, was a long stretcher on which was a model of Baboquivari[1] some four feet long and two feet high, with the peak standing a foot above the sharp ridge. This was of cloth stretched over a frame, painted an uneven green color. Behind the mountain, one on each side, were two pyramids of white cloth, about a foot high. In front of the mountain, and on the same float, was a large black hemisphere, some two feet in diameter, on which perched a bird, possibly a foot high, cut out of a flat piece of wood. This bird also was humpbacked and had a large hooked beak. The wing, beak and legs were black, the rest of the body and the head were white. The chorus carried triangles in this procession.

One float, coming later, was a representation of Santa Rosa mountain about three feet long and twenty inches high, sharp ridged. This was painted a dirty grey color and on it were sahuaros about ten inches high, painted blue. Just below the peak, on the side of the mountain was a human figure in black, cut out of flat wood, square-shouldered and square-headed, about six inches high. Its arms were straight and held out from the sides, and its legs were bent out at the knees, feet apart.

Another float consisted of a roughly hemispherical frame, covered with brown cloth, about 3' long and 2' wide, on top of which stood what seemed to be a clump of grass about 6" high. A similar float, but smaller, a foot and a half in diameter, was carried later by one man of the chorus, and this had what seemed to be two green corn leaves sprouting from the top of it. What the choristers carried with these floats we did not notice.

[1] [A near-by mountain.--Analyst]

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

In the afternoon a white cloth covered framework similar to that carried at Anegam was brought out. This was about ten feet high and four feet wide, with a bilobate top, each lobe the same size, one of which had a smaller lobe at its edge just below the top. The high wind which came up before noon made this an extremely difficult thing to carry, and the dancers, propping it up with sahuaro sticks, were hard put to it to keep it from blowing away. In this period the dancers discarded their bows and arrows, took up the sahuaro fruit gathering poles and held the frame upright by hooking the short sticks at the end of the poles over the top of the frame. A similar framework was brought out a little later, probably the same one carried at Anegam. 796 293 532

After this a float bearing a blue mountain about 3' long and 18" high appeared. Triangles and semicircles of white paper pasted on light stick frames were fastened upright about and on the sides of the mountain. The choristers carried triangles behind this float.

The last float observed was a hemisphere on a stretcher, some four feet in diameter, solidly tied in with raw white cotton, and with brown zigzags leading from the top centre down the sides. This was almost demolished by the wind before the procession was completed. The choristers carried the wands with the cotton balls on the upper ends during this period.

About ten A.M. an east wind came up, blowing in gusts, and increasing in velocity as the day wore on. The dust blew in dense clouds, along the north and south sides of the enclosure, across the dance floor and directly into the lean-to. How the four young folks there breathed at all was beyond our understanding. The old man was continually wiping their faces, especially their eyes, with his cloth. In the afternoon the dust was so heavy and thick, swirling in stinging blasts, that we could not see the dancers eight feet away from us. A little girl sitting on the front bumper of a car nearby went to sleep and fell off on the ground without waking up. An hour later she was drifted deep in sand, and we were afraid she would suffocate. 796 [132]

About 11:30 A.M. the chorus entered the enclosure and remained inside, and we were conscious of a renewed interest and vitality in the crowd of patient and dusty spectators.

A dancer ran around to the dance floor and there, with a stick, described a circle on the ground, about 8' in diameter, leaving a narrow opening on the east side. He then returned to the group, waiting on the east side of the enclosure. Then several dancers ran to the dance floor, each carrying a gourd, painted white, with red lines trailing from the rims, each with a stopper of wadded cloth, and very carefully set them upright around the circle, just inside the line, scooping out a hollow in the ground to hold each gourd upright. These men entered the circle on hands and knees, head down, as though crawling 796 535 [293]

17.Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS AND PRACTICES

The Papagos make a number of rather crude ceremonial objects which ritual demands must be thrown away after each ceremony. Masks are made of half a gourd *(Lagenaria vulgaris)* tied with buckskin thongs and covering only the eyes and nose of the wearer. The face is crudely painted on it with clay, and small perforations made for seeing and breathing. A more valuable mask, kept from year to year, is that belonging to the hereditary clown. It is made of white buckskin, bag shaped, the closed end of which comes at the top of the wearer's head and the open fringed end to his shoulders. A small face is painted on it with blue soot from creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

The body is often ceremonially marked with clay colored yellow with a decoction of dandelion flowers *(Taraxacum officinale)*.

Fetishes were made on various occasions: for the *vikita* or harvest festival, for the *te'ĭrkona*, or visiting dance, when a visiting village entertained its hosts before racing with them; and for a ceremony to insure the growth of wild crops. These effigies were usually made to illustrate the content of a dream. For the *vikita* there were hereditary dream singers who every four years produced a new series of songs and ordered the making of some object to illustrate them. There was a standard range of subjects, including clouds, deer, corn, squash, mountains, and sea birds, though an inventive author sometimes provided a new subject like a mythical monster.

Very little material was available for these structures but they showed considerable extempore invention. A framework was made of ocotillo rods *(Fouquieria splendens)* tied together with thongs, and on this could be draped white buckskins to represent clouds, or reddish dyed ones for mountains. The facsimiles were mounted on a wicker frame of sahuaro ribs *(Carnegia gigantea)*. Large white birds were made on a skeleton of ocotillo ribs covered with raw cotton. Squash effigies were contrived from ocotillo

17;Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

349 and dyed buckskin, corn of ocotillo rods painted with dots,
532 and with soapweed leaves *(Yucca glauca)* attached to represent corn leaves. The same range of subjects was used to illustrate the visiting dance.

The effigies used for the wild crops represented sahuaro and prickly pear fruit *(Opuntia* sp.) and might be of red clay or of red ocotillo blossoms. An effigy mesquite bean was made of a twig (19).

293 Prayer sticks were made of catclaw *(Acacia greggii)*
778 upon which was tied eagle down *(Aquila chrysaetos)*, except for a special harvest ceremony at Quitovac in Sonora where it was "given" the people by Elder Brother to use turkey feathers *(Meleagris gallopavo merriami)*. Some prayer
[386] sticks were colored blue with soot from a fire of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)*, the colored stick representing growing corn, the turkey feather the leaves (19).

Dancers at the harvest ceremony carried wands five feet long with bunches of eagle tail feathers at each end and in the middle. Individuals who had had curing dreams
[532] sometimes made fetishes to represent the animals which had taught them. Thus the horned toad *(Phrynosoma coronatum)* was often carved out of wood.

532 An enemy slayer had made for him an effigy of an Apache, using the hairs he had taken from the slain man's temples. The slayer's guardian if skillful contrived a doll of buckskin dressed in Apache costume and wearing the hair.

783 Tobacco smoke *(Nicotiana trigonophylla* and *N. taba-*
276 *cum)* was regarded by the Papagos as a purifying agent. The medicine man, while singing over a patient to "see" the cause of disease, paused regularly to smoke and blew the smoke over the patient as a means of cleansing.

The man who had come into contact with the supernatural by killing an enemy or an eagle, or by joining the salt pilgrimage, had to be purified by a period of segregation and fasting. When this period was ended, older men who had been through the same experience, sang a series of